

A<sup>3,</sup>  
L E T T E R  
TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WILLIAM PITT,  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. &c.  
ON THE PROPOSED  
A B O L I T I O N  
OF THE  
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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By the Rev. F. RANDOLPH, M.A.  
Late Fellow of King's College, *Cambridge*;  
And Chaplain to his Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK.

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L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

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MDCCCLXXXVIII.

J. E. T. R.

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

OF THE GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND



AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

BY THE REV. F. RANDOLPH M.A.

late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge,  
and Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of York

LONDON

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S I R,

**I**F ever an Englishman had Reason to be proud of his Birth-right, it must be at the Moment in which I now have the Honour to address you; it must be when the Feelings of every Individual is become the great Business of national Councils, and when the political Influence of the Kingdom meets the private Sentiments of the Heart, to enlarge the Circle of general Philanthropy and Benevolence.

YOUR late noble Conduct on the Impeachment of Mr. HASTINGS, is a Pledge of Protection to the injured Rights of Mankind, and whilst the Blessings of Millions are united to your Memory; however Posterity may

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decide



decide on the Virtues, or Errors of your Administration, it never can erase the Name of PITT from the Records of Humanity.

THE Cause of those I am now going to plead, wants not I am confident a more powerful Advocate than your own Heart, in their Defence—But the moral Distinction of Right and Wrong is sometimes forced to submit to the Interpretations of *political Expediency*; and the grand Interests of human Nature, are too often measured by those of the particular Society to which we happen to belong—In aspiring to national Felicity, Men substitute Arts which increase their Riches, instead of those which improve their Nature, and in the Ardour of progressive Industry, and the Eagerness of perpetual Refinement, overlook the Means which are applied to advance the one, and the Methods which are practised to gratify the other—But the Obligation to Virtue is not the less because Interest may overrule it, nor are we to persist in Guilt, because it may be *inconvenient* or *dangerous* to renounce it—It is true indeed—*Adeo in Quæ laboramus sola, crevimus, Divitias Luxuriamque*, that we must now contract our Opinions of what we ought,



ought, to what in Consistence with public Safety, we may be permitted to do; and the the System of Revenue is so involved with the System of Slavery, the Exigences of the State so dependant upon the Planters Wealth, and the Security of their Property so strongly ratified, and enforced by repeated Acts of the Legislature, that we cannot be generous without Injustice, nor pay the Tribute of Mercy without endangering the Treasury.—If any Suggestions in the following Pages should tend to reconcile Expediency with Justice, our private Duty with our public Faith, and the Dignity of the State with the Security of the Individual, the Design of them will be fully answered.—If on the other Hand I should so far have mistaken the Means, that the feeling Heart should be dissatisfied, or the interested one find Cause to complain, I shall at least have contributed my Endeavours towards the Suppression of Enormities, where Acquiescence would be criminal, and where the Necessity can only be surpassed by the  
*\* Difficulty of Reformation.*

Most

*\* UNDOUBTEDLY* there would be no Difficulty in cutting off the Abuse at once by an immediate Abolition  
of

Most of the Tracts I have hitherto perused, seem to derive their Force rather from the Manner of Discussion than from a Fullness of Enquiry, and to owe their Reputation more to the contradictory Evidence of peculiar Facts, than to a minute and candid Investigation of the general Subject.—On one Side a Series of Hardships and Cruelties is enumerated to criminate a whole Set of Men; and on the other the Conduct of a considerable Number of respectable and humane Planters is brought forwards to invalidate the Assertions of so injurious a Charge: And whilst Avowals, and Contradictions carried on with the same apparent Zeal for Truth, both arising from the same Source of Information, and both the Effects of the same Experience, are successively published and believed.—It must be independant of Opinions so opposite, it must be by recurring to the invariable Testimony of Justice, that we are

of the African Trade, but I am afraid such a Law would have an Operation widely different from the End proposed.—To restrain and to amend seems to be all that can be done at present, and the Difficulty will lie in the Mode and Manner of it, so as to render it at the same Time humane and salutary—But of this hereafter.

are to determine our Conduct, and direct it towards the Perfection of that moral System of the World which seems to have been prescribed to it by the great Creator of every System of Beings.

THOSE who have read the Essays of Mr. RAMSAY and Mr. TOBIN on this Subject, will perceive that I more immediately allude to their respective Publications.—It would be highly ungenerous in a perfect Stranger to these Gentlemen, to suspect either of them of Partiality, or Misrepresentation; both ground their Reasonings upon Facts, and both represent themselves as Eye Witnesses of the very Facts they relate.—Giving therefore due Credit to their respective Veracity, what are we to infer from the Inconsistency of their Narratives?—That though Humanity stands in Need of no controuling Laws, though she may be anxious to temper with Mercy the Iron Rod of Power, yet in the unfeeling Hands of Rapacity and Avarice, is it exercised with a Cruelty that human Nature should shudder at, and with an Impunity which as a Nation we should blush with Shame to behold.

BUT



BUT after all, the Situation of the Slaves in the West Indies is but a relative Part of the main Question.—The Trade to the Coast of Africa is equally barbarous and unjustifiable, however the Disposition of the Planter may sweeten the Bitterness of Servitude.—Can it be defended upon any Principle that both Reason and Feeling would not reject with Indignation—Arguments drawn from the \* *forfeited Rights* of Mankind, or tending to establish the Legality of Slavery on the Customs of civil Society only prove in a Question like this, the Weakness of our Cause, or the Badness of our Dispositions.—As the Law of Nature and Nations is interpreted, says a † celebrated Writer, one would imagine there were

\* THE Forfeiture of these Rights can only be occasioned by Conquest or Crimes, and even supposing it could be proved that our African Cargoes consisted only of Captives and Criminals, can it be denied that the very Wars by which they are obtained, are frequently excited by the Prospect of an English Market; and the Penalty of the Laws by which they are condemned, too rigorously exacted by the Desire of English Goods.—Vide. a candid and simple Narrative of the Slave Trade entitled *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, by JOHN NEWTON.

† MONTESQUIEU *Lettres Persannes*, 94, 95.

were two Sorts of Justice, one to regulate the Affairs of private Persons which prevails in the civil Law; the other to compose the Differences that arise between People and People, which plays the Tyrant in the Law of Nations.—As if the Law of Nations were not itself a civil Law, not indeed of a particular Country, but of the World.—It is by this Law we are to be guided, and we must cease to esteem ourselves as Citizens of a free State, we must forget our Situation as Men, and renounce our Obligations as Christians ere we can suffer a few selfish, subtle Reflections to explain away all that has the Appearance of social, kindly and generous in our Frame.—Is a Country where the Genius of political Wisdom, and civil Arts seems to have fixed her Seat, to circumscribe her Virtue within the Contentment of her own comparative Blessings, or is it not her Duty to extend the Influence of her Laws and Manners wherever Humanity may call for their Exertion, or the Barbarian for their Example.—Governed by, and obeying the great Principles of Equity and Justice, we are called upon to enlarge and enlighten the human Mind by the Liberality of our legislative Reason: We are bound

to

to act as the Tutors and Guardians of Mankind; and if we betray or abuse the Trust reposed in us, we prove ourselves unworthy of the Freedom we possess, and unfit for the noble Employ of it; for which Providence may probably have designed us.—But as the *Principle* of the Trade cannot be defended, there is an Argument raised upon the *Effects* of it which in Proportion as it leans to the Side of Humanity has been urged with tolerable Success.—The Condition of the Negroes in the West Indies, is in general much more eligible, it is said, than in their own Country. Now granting the Truth of the Assertion, what Argument is it in Defence of the Trade.—I can readily believe that Time\* may efface the Memory of former Scenes, and that a compassionate Master and Habits of Industry may have placed many of the Negroes in Situations that even some of our own Poor might envy—But subsequent Treatment tho' it may serve to reconcile the Planter to his Conscience, cannot justify the Act of Purchase, and where we invade every Privilege we  
 Ourselves

\* Some too are brought so young as to suffer Nothing by the Bitterness of Comparison, and even this boasted relative Happiness is from what I have been able to learn the Portion only of the Creole.



Ourselves possess, and abandon every Principle we are taught to cherish, the Plea of Necessity is the only Excuse left for the Exercise of *real Immorality*.—Besides too without calling in Question the Right we may have of bettering the Condition of others *by Force*, I would simply ask whether we do not ourselves inspire the Motive to the Oppression and Cruelty with which they are treated—and whether the wretched Negroes are not first reduced to the deplorable Condition we speak of, by the very Means we pretend to employ to relieve them from it.—From the Reluctance also with which a Slave bears his Chains, and from the Danger that almost always attends his Embarkation, it is evident that He is sensible of a Change for the worse, it is evident that He has some Affections mingled with the Soil that gave him Birth, and some Ideas of Happiness, which amidst all his Misfortunes a perpetual Banishment from his native Country seems to deprive him of.—Hard-hearted and cruel as we are, we seize the unhappy Victims in the Moment of Anguish and Despair, and as the contending Passions subside, boast of having rescued them from the Oppressions of their Superiors, and of restoring them to a

new Existence—But are they not Slaves in the most abject Sense of the Word, are they not groaning under the Tyranny of the most absolute Despotism, and what is their Servitude in the West-Indies, but a Change of Master? —Why it is an Exchange from political to domestic Slavery!—It is an Annihilation of every Right, and of every Sentiment, it is in short a Degradation of the human Being to the Brute; The most arbitrary Government has some Limits, and the Sway of Empire that outréaches Law is still fettered by Custom and Prejudice—Men acting in Communities feel also an Importance even in their Submission, and whatever they may suffer from the Tyranny of the Prince, still fancy They retain the Dignity of a People—But reduced to the abject Servility of a menial Slave, and lost in the Sense of his own Debasement, the Negro drudges on with fullen and painful Endurance; He feels neither the Spirit of Society, to assuage or resent the rigours of it, nor the Sweets and Duties of those Ties and Affections, which under all Contingencies endear the Soul to the Country that gave Birth to them.

LET

LET me not here be accused of giving Way to a glowing Imagination, or of inspiring the the Breast of a Negro with Sentiments he never possessed—Sprung from the same Origin, Human Nature may *vary*, but it cannot *differ*: and where we find the express Image of the Creator, the same animated Temperament, the same Symmetry of Form, and an equal Vigour of Exertion, let not the Pride of Intellect presume to talk of \*mental Incapacity—Where Circumstances have favoured their Talents, or Situations called them into Action, Examples may be brought of Honour, Worth, and Understanding that must too often be left out of the Catalogue of European Superiority—And if we were forced to seek for the Virtues or the Dignity of the human Race on board an African Trader, it would be amidst those who were groaning under their Misery; not among those whose Vice and Brutality could inflict it.

B 2

BUT

\*VIDE. The Whole of this Argument very fully and nobly answered by Mr. RAMSAY, Chap. 4, Page 197, et Seq. Vide. also MONTESQUIEU L'Esprit des Loix. For my own Part, I cannot help thinking that the Comparison of a modern Italian Eunuch to a Roman Citizen, is full as degrading as that of a Negro to his Ægyptian Ancestors.



BUT this Desire of tracing the Violations of Humanity to any Thing but our own Avarice and Wickedness, has called forth the Spirit of Prophecy to its Assistance, and united the Will of the Deity to countenance and confirm a Practice\* abhorrent to every Principle He has taught us to cherish.—Whether the Completion of the Prophecy has been abundantly fulfilled in the Descendants of Ham, and his Posterity, would be immaterial to decide: The Argument, (supposing the Penalty still unpaid) must rest wholly on the Authority given to those who inflict it—Human Instruments have indeed generally been the Ministers of God's Wrath and Indignation, and the Fulfillance of those prophecies we have seen accomplished, has been apparently brought about by the progressive Series of human Events—The Records of History, independant of the divine Predictions, are Nothing more than the Vicissitudes and

\* SINCE these Sheets were sent to the Press, I have met with a Publication of the Rev. R. HARRIS, addressed to the Corporation of Liverpool, intitled, *Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade.*—The ensuing Remarks will prove that our Conceptions of Scripture are totally different, and I only lament that the advanced State of my Letter will not suffer me now to disprove, what I most heartily condemn.

and Reverses of Fortune, traced through the Progress, Rise, and Decay of political Establishments; and the Passions of Mankind, which are made subservient to the Ends and Designs of our Creator, may be reasoned upon from the Improvements, or Corruptions of their Nature—But are the Cruelties that accompany these Passions less criminal, because God, in his infinite Wisdom has foreseen the Event of them? Were the Horrors that were committed before Jerusalem lawful, because our Saviour had foretold the dreadful Destruction of it; or was the Treachery of Judas meritorious, because the Son of Man was to be betrayed, and crucified? — When we are unjust, and unmerciful, to assert that we are so, in Obedience to the divine Command, is adding Blasphemy to our Iniquity—It is opposing the Order of Providence, it is destroying the Harmony between the natural, and revealed Law of God, it is bending Religion to a System of Vice and Depravity, and endeavouring to bind Hatred and Uncharitableness, with the Bond of all Love and Perfection.

WHENCE then, it has been urged, arises it, that Slavery has been tolerated by God from the earliest

earliest Periods of the World? And does not the Mosaical Account of Mankind give a Sanction to the relative Conditions of Master and Slave, and the absolute Silence of our Saviour on the Subject, prove at least the Necessity, if not the Expediency of the Tenure?

INEQUALITIES, or Superiorities and Dependancies are certainly *natural* to Mankind, in Consequence of our Frame and Condition of Life—They are the Result of Application, and Industry, and the Exercise of the social Virtues, which cannot take Place without mutual Dependance, necessarily involves in its very Idea, these Inequalities—Now if such appears to be the State of Mankind, we are not to enquire whether it was just, right, and good to create them in such Circumstances, but whether it does not appear from our own Constitution, to be the Intention of the Author of our Being, that we should use the Advantages we may reap from a greater Advance in internal or external Goods, to encrease the general Sum of human Happiness—Every Ordonnance of the Mosaical Law respecting Slaves, is founded on that brotherly Love and Affection we owe to each other—Perpetual  
Slavery



Slavery also, is absolutely forbidden, except at the Expiration of the Term allotted, the Slave wished to render it so, by a voluntary Compact entered into before the \*Judges—But what in Fact have we to do with the Mosical Dispensation; living under one so essentially different, we are neither to make it a Rule of our Faith, or of our Conduct—We are taught

\* VID. 21 Chap. Exodus.—I could wish the Reader to compare the Precepts of Humanity laid down in this Chapter, with the Laws respecting the Slaves in the West-Indies.—Some of the *printed ones in Favour of Negroes* are to be found in Mr. TOBIN's Remarks on Mr. RAMSAY's Essay, P. 26. And when he learns from the Divine Regulations *that he that smiteth a Man so that he die shall be surely put to Death*—And finds a Confirmation and Extension of the same Law, to Strangers as well as Israelites—*Ye shall have one Manner of Law as well for the Stranger as for one of your own Country : For I am the Lord your God.* Levit. xxiv. 22. — What must his Opinion be of that human Institution which to the Disgrace of our Legislature, stands in these precise Terms—Persons killing Slaves, wantonly or inhumanly, to be deemed guilty of Felony, with *Benefit of Clergy for the first Offence*, but liable to Fine and Imprisonment; for the second Offence to suffer Death. As a subsequent Appendage to Tyranny may be added, that if a Negro, on any Provocation whatever, kill a white Man, he is to be burnt to Death.

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taught by our blessed Redeemer to *look upon all Men as our Equals, to do unto others as we would they should do unto us*—We are told that the Time shall come when *the Wolf shall lie down with the Lamb*, and the whole World shall be a Scene of Peace and Harmony.—That there shall be *one Fold under one Shepherd* even Christ our Lord.—If therefore we think ourselves bound to the Practice of *these Duties*, or have any Belief in *these Expectations*, surely the Abolition of Slavery is implied in them.—And when we are commanded to behave ourselves in all Respects towards our Creator, as becometh his Creatures; towards one another, as becometh those that are indued with the *same common Nature*; and towards ourselves according as the Dignity of our Being requires we should: Is it not impious to interpret the Silence of our Saviour upon any *particular Act* of Sin, into the Toleration of an Iniquity whose very Principle strikes at the Root of *all his Doctrine*—Not to mention that at the Time he appeared, an absolute Silence on this Subject, seems necessary for the Progress of the Reformation he was to accomplish—The Roman Laws with Respect to Slaves, were established and exercised with all the barbarous Insolence

solence of Superiority, and Dominion—And had the Precepts of our Saviour tended to disturb the Order of civil Government, or alter at once the Constitution and Form of it, amongst any Nations, the Pride and Passions of Mankind would have taken the Alarm, and instead of a Preacher of Peace, he would in all Probability have been instantly quelled as a Promoter of Sedition and Rebellion—But He came to purify the Hearts of his People, to engage the Morals of Mankind on the Side of their Manners—The great View of his Ministry, was to encourage Men to govern their Passions, to be of the most just, generous, and friendly Dispositions to others—His Doctrine was to insinuate itself into the Hearts of his Followers, and diffuse its prevailing Influence on the Conduct of human Life, through succeeding Ages.

I HAVE hitherto, Sir, confined my Observations to that Part of the Question relative to the Right we have as an *enlightened* and a *Christian Nation* to exercise this inhuman Branch of Traffic; and have found little Difficulty, though there was Room perhaps for much more Address in combating Arguments

C

which

which the Reasons of Trade can never reconcile with the Feelings or Duties of Mankind—How far They ought to restrain the Hand of Justice, and how far the Plea of Necessity *must be* heard against the Claims of Humanity, may not be so *easy*, or so *safe* to determine.—It is certain we owe every \* Security to the Planters'

\* Dr. PRIESTLEY in his Zeal for Humanity seems to have overlooked every private Consideration—*To do Justice and to shew Mercy* (says He) *should be our first Care, let what will become of the Superfluities, or even the Necessaries of Life.*—And if we looked no farther than the Enjoyment of these Superfluities, there is no one, I presume, who would put the Use of the West India Luxury in Competition with the Rigours of the West India Slavery—But when these very Superfluities are the Produce of Estates held under a Security as sacred as any Estate in this Kingdom—Nay when many of them through the Medium of Commerce, are partially or wholly in Possession of English Merchants who have paid the full Value of their *estimated Produce*—We cannot annihilate or reduce this Product without indemnifying them for the Loss, an Effort far beyond the Reach of the exhausted Revenues of this Country—The transferring our Sugar Plantations to the Coast of Africa would be for similar, and various other Reasons, equally impolitic and impracticable—The Wound is dangerous, Time and Regimen may purify it, and effect a Cure, Amputation would be Death. Vid. Dr.

PRIESTLEY'S



Planters' Property; it has grown up under our Protection; it has prospered under the Influence of our Government, and whatever may be the *moral Right* of the Planter to his Slave, the *political Right* to him is as fully confirmed as that of the Farmer to the Instruments of his Agriculture—The public Credit of the Nation has been likewise so raised and supported by the immediate, and relative Contributions of this Part of her Trade, that our Reflections and Reasonings cannot now be wholly applied to the present State of the Commerce, but to the present *State of our Affairs*—As we have partaken the Profits we must consequently be involved in the Ruin of the Partnership: And however we may bind it by subsequent Regulations, we cannot now  
C 2                      withdraw

PRIESTLEY's excellent Sermon on this Subject, P. 27, 28. Were Sugars to be imported as freely from any Country whatever, as any other Merchandize, the Slave Trade would not indeed be formally abolished, but it would be rendered useless and insignificant in a Course of Years, and by that Means would gradually decrease in the same Manner as Slavery was formerly abolished throughout Europe.—But the Maxim of Monopolies has overwhelmed every other Maxim of Commerce, and we must, and every Day do pay the Penalty of adhering to it.

withdraw our Support, without the utmost Danger and Dishonour.

BUT when we consider the Breach that such an Establishment has made in the System of national Virtue, it is our Duty to defend and secure it by every Preservative in our Power, till Patience and Perseverance in the same generous Cause may effectually close it up for ever.—In pursuing the Subject through its various and important Considerations, I shall beg Leave to follow the Statements of a \* late Publication, both as they seem to embrace the principal Objections of the Planter to the projected Reformation, and because amidst the Suggestions of private Interest it is impossible to read a Defence of personal Property urged with a greater Degree of Candour and Calmness.—In the essential Point of Humanity, † that Slavery is an Evil, and therefore it is to be wished that it could be redressed by AN ABOLITION OF THE STATE itself, or the TOTAL EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES, we most

\* CONSIDERATIONS on the Emancipation of Negroes, and on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by a West India Planter.

† Vide Page 2d,

most cordially agree; And the Danger as well as Impolicy of redressing it at once *by these Means*, cannot in the present State of Things, be denied—But that gradual Advances towards a general Reform may not be made, that we must not check what we dare not confine, nor modify the Exercise of Claims we cannot extinguish is a Doctrine that no Plea of Property can justify, and which the moral and political Character of a People ought not to endure—If the Evils we are forced to submit to, will not admit of a Remedy, if no Wisdom or Prudence, can eventually secure to us the Blessings without the Curses of the West India Commerce, and if a Combination of mercantile Interest is to operate against every moral Affection, and every social Tie, we had better relinquish the Boast of national Prosperity, than support it by Means so destructive of its real Dignity and Honour—And to use the Words, because I unite in the Sentiments of a very \* candid, and well informed Writer—Though I were even sure, says He, that a principal Branch of the public Revenue depended upon the African Trade, (which

\* VID. Essay of the Rev. JOHN NEWTON, before-mentioned, P. 7.



(which I apprehend is far from being the Case) if I had Access and Influence, I should think myself bound to say to Government, to Parliament, and to the Nation, " It is not lawful to put it into the Treasury, *because it is the Price of Blood.*

BUT let us examine the Objections that are made to a *partial* and *progressive* Emancipation of the Slaves in the West-Indies, since by the gradual Operations of acquired Freedom, and by a Modification of the Trade to Africa under the severest Restrictions, the most Cautious assure themselves of a final Completion of their Wishes; and the most eager are led to temper their Impatience with a Satisfaction that anticipates the Effect of these habitual Exertions in the Cause of Humanity.—The main Force of the Gentleman's Argument rests on a Principle of Equity, he lays down at the Beginning of his Work—*That where an Individual is divested of his Interest for the Benefit of the Community at large, he shall be indemnified out of the public Treasury, to the full Extent of his Injury.*—Estimating therefore the whole Compensation due to the Planters, who, he supposes must be ruined in Consequence of a *total* Annihilation of Slavery,

Slavery, or *Abolition* of the Trade, at 60 Millions, he claims an Indemnity from the *annual* Enfranchisement of any Number of Slaves proportionable to the Diminution of Product the Estate must suffer from the loss of Labour —For, to use his own Words, “ *As there are very few, if any Plantations, which possess more Negroes than are absolutely necessary to work them; the depriving a Planter of any Number of his Slaves, is so far to impair his Power of Cultivation, and of Course proportionally to lessen the Product of his Estate.\**—On a Supposition therefore of one in one Hundred to be freed annually, an additional Burthen of 600,000*l.* must annually be laid on the Country, to recompense the Planters for their Loss.

BESIDES too the Advantages resulting from the Accomplishment of this partial Freedom would not in the Author's Opinion correspond to the Expectations of Humanity, it being more than probable † *that the Rigours of Slavery would even be aggravated to those who still remain*

\* *VID.* above-mentioned Considerations on the Emancipation of Negroes, and on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by a West India Planter, P. 6.

† P. 7.

remain subject to it. For the ordinary Consequence of working an Estate with an inadequate Strength of Negroes, has even been the requiring an Excess of Labour from such Slaves as they have.—In answer to these insurmountable Difficulties, and to relieve the Country from this enormous Tax on its Humanity, I must beg Leave to borrow some of the impassioned Invectives the Author has himself \* lent to the Voice of Compassion—Is then Nothing to be done for this degraded Part of the Species? Must the West India Planters be still permitted to exercise their lawless Tyranny over Subjects endowed like themselves not only with bodily Feeling, but with mental Reflection—If these are idle Declamations, it is a Disgrace to the feeling Heart that they are so—Is a Sense of Freedom so detrimental to the Cause of Industry, that we cannot impart the One without destroying the Other?—Are our Reasonings to be drawn from the Lash and the Whip? and the Qualities of the human Mind to be extended no farther than the degraded Condition of it?—Terms of Civilization are only relative, and what were our own Ancestors when the Mistress of the World added our barbarous Island to the Rest of



of her Conquests?—Yet from Want of Arts do we determine a Want of Capacity? And where our *own Features* do not appear, apprehend that there is Nothing which deserves to be known—In the present Situation of the Negroes, the End of Slavery might be the Beginning of Vengeance; unable to comprehend, or to feel the Blessings of Liberty, they would not consider themselves as Parts of a Community where they had been so much injured, but dispute perhaps the Possession of a Country, where the Dominion of their Lords and Masters was no more——But make them Objects of Care as well as of Dependance, give a Charm to Industry from the Expectation of Reward, and a Novelty to Labour by uniting their Interest with the Performance of it, and who shall separate the immediate Affections of the Heart, from a growing Sensibility to the Welfare of those who inspired them. Arguments drawn from their present Genius and Temper, can have no Effect upon the Mind that feels the progressive Exertion of its own Powers; or that has traced the gradual Advance of the human Intellect from a rude and barbarous State, to a State of Culture and Improvement—Indolence and Stubbornness of  
D Disposition

Disposition are the natural Effects of Force and Coercion, and I doubt whether an European in Chains at Algiers, would feel any other Incitement to work, than what arose from the Terrors of Punishment.

*But if Negroes cease to be Objects of private Coercion and Protection they will be amenable only to the Laws of their Country, and must be adjudged by those Laws—The Gibbet must therefore be substituted for the Whip, and the Negroes have so much Want of mental Exertion, that they encounter Death at the Gallows, with the same stupid Insensibility and Indifference as they would do a simple Flagellation.*

WHERE there is no Sense of Shame, there can be no Sense of Feeling beyond the Acuteness of immediate Pain—The Mode of Punishment must be equally indifferent, and without the Influence of Religion, the Gibbet in many Cases, the most eligible of the two—The Law, or the Master may punish the Negro, but cannot disgrace him, and it is only from the Contempt of his Fellow-Associates; from the comparative Worth and Happiness of  
*their*

*their Situation*, that he will learn Contrition for his Fault, or shew a Desire of Amendment.

*But a Slave restored to Freedom would never let himself out to hire, and submit to the regular Labours of a Sugar Estate for Money\**—Experience loudly contradicts this Assertion, though through the Extent of our West-India Plantations there may not be a single Example to invalidate the Truth of it.—Habits of Industry are the Result of honest Labour and Contentment, and the constant Pursuit in their Vocations, creates an Independance in the lower Ranks of Society, which gives a Sort of Dignity to their Station—But Labour in the West-Indies is associated with Infamy; it seems to throw back the emancipated Slave into his primitive Meanness, and the Pre-eminence into which he happens to be raised above his Fellows, is a Distinction that he would either

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\* starve,

\*P. 10. This alludes to the Conduct of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, with Respect to their Slaves; and however we may differ from that humane Set of Men in the Forms of Christianity, in the grand Essentials of it, they are on this Occasion much our Superiors.



\*starve, or steal to maintain—Till the Mind is free, as well as the Body. The Charms of Liberty cannot extend beyond the animal Enjoyment of it, and without looking for Elevation of Sentiment, or Liberality of Opinion among the Negroes, let us be allowed that we may inspire them with the same Sense of Order, and Subjection as is to be found among the inferior Classes of our own People; let us indulge the Hopes that Care and Attention to the rising Generation at least may convert the Slave into the industrious Subject, and change the Sullenness of Submission into a dutiful and willing Obedience.

NOTIONS like these will, I am well aware, be called chimerical; but it must be from some such

\* If I mistake not there is a Law existing in many of the West India Islands, which prohibits the Enfranchisement of a Slave, without a certain Allowance for his Maintenance, lest he should become a Scourge, or a Burthen to the Community—Supposing there was no Degradation in the Exertions of Industry, and they were felt to be their Duty as well as necessary to their Subsistence, this Law would certainly be useless—But we are anxious rather to maintain the Peace of Society, and to repress the external Effects of bad Passions, than to strengthen the Disposition of the Heart itself to Justice and Goodness.

such Notions, it must be from encouraging similar Expectations, that we shall either awaken our Indifference into Action, or prosecute our Resolutions with Zeal—And if we read our Lesson of Practice, not in the partial Extracts of national Policy, but in the grand Volume of human Nature, we shall find a Foundation on which we may build with Security, and Materials on which we may hope to work with Success.

THE Author next considers the *probable Effects* of an Abolition of the Slave Trade—And supposing a direct and immediate Prohibition to take Place, many of those He mentions are, I fear, to be dreaded—The sudden Stop to any future Importation, might leave many of the West India Estates without a Possibility of Culture, and either increase the Hardships of the poor remaining Slaves, or drive the Planter to the Necessity of procuring them from the French and other Nations at all Risques, *and at an Expence so prodigiously increased, as to disable him still further from engaging with the French in a Competition at foreign Markets for the Sale of their Produce—Therefore without reaping any Advantage to the Cause*

*Cause of Humanity, we should deprive ourselves of a solid commercial Advantage, as others will greedily embrace what we abandon.\**

THERE is also, says he, Reason to think, that our own Countrymen who are among the † first Speculators in Europe, and have been long engaged in that Traffic, to which they have large Capitals appropriated, will not altogether desist from their Adventures, but that they will contrive to extract Advantages from it, though circuitously, and under the Cover of foreign Passes. ‡

THESE and various other Objections founded on the Injustice of invading *private* Property, on the Danger of throwing our Plantations into the Arms of France, and of destroying also by too much Precipitation the very Object we wish to attain, are so many fatal Truths which, however painful to hear, cannot

\* Page 11.

† This indeed is a melancholy Truth which daily Practice corroborates—It is but very lately that several Ships have sailed from the different Ports of Great-Britain, to take Advantage of an advanced Bounty on this Trade offered by France.

‡ Page 12, 13.



not *now* be denied—But that with Time and Attention they may be removed, that this inhuman Traffic may be *ultimately* abolished, and that our Wealth may increase with our Virtue, is an Idea that Nothing but the Evidence of Experience should tempt us to renounce—Whatever Regulations I may propose, or any Hints that I may be led to suggest towards the Attainment of these Advantages, I shall beg Leave to reserve for the Conclusion of this Letter; but as One of the principal Ones which leans on the natural Supply by Generation, is effectually interrupted by the Conclusion of the above-mentioned Author, it may be necessary to enter more particularly into this Part of his Objections.

*Let us suppose, says He, that all possible Chance of obtaining Negro Slaves from the French or other European Islands, is cut off, and that the Planters have no Resource but in the natural Supply by Generation—Will the Condition of the Slaves be amended? I aver it will not—In Support of this Position He proceeds in the following Words.*

\* “ ALL

\* “ ALL Supply by Importation being  
 “ intercepted, the Number of Negro Slaves  
 “ employed in our Colonies will diminish  
 “ —At present they diminish on most Estates  
 “ every Year, in Consequence, it is al-  
 “ ledged, of excessive Labour and ill Treat-  
 “ ment—Labour (which is inseparable from  
 “ the Condition of a Slave) will doubtless in  
 “ a Climate such as that of the British Sugar  
 “ Islands, tend to produce Sterility and Dis-  
 “ orders which terminate in Death—But how  
 “ can these Effects be prevented otherwise  
 “ than by an Abolition, or so great a Relax-  
 “ ation of Labour, as is totally incompatible  
 “ with the Purpose for which Negroes are  
 “ purchased—Negroes are not in the first In-  
 “ stance bought for the † Increase of the  
 “ Species,

\* Page 13.

† One Thing I cannot omit, says the ingenuous Mr. NEWTON, which was told me by the Gentleman to whom my Ship was consigned at Antigua in the year 1751, and who was himself a Planter—He said that Calculations had been made with all possible Exactness to determine which was the preferable, that is the more saving Method of managing Slaves—

Whether to appoint them moderate Work, Plenty of Provisions, and such Treatment as might enable them to protract their Lives to old Age—Or  
 By

“ Species, but for their Work, and if a cer-  
 “ tain Quantity of Work be not done, their  
 “ Owners must be ruined—Therefore the  
 “ Condition of Slaves being such as necessarily  
 “ exposes them to Accidents conducing to  
 “ Depopulation, we need not be surpris’d that  
 “ their Numbers do decrease.”—After such  
*cogent* Reasons for the Necessity of an annual  
 Supply of Slaves we will not augment it by  
 any additional Sacrifice of Lives to the Bar-  
 barity of ill Treatment, though if the Object  
 in a purchased Negro be only such as the  
 Author represents, I must confess I should  
 suspect the Motive that withheld the Severity of  
 Correction.

Sterility, and a speedy Death, must indeed  
 be the Consequence of such Treatment, but  
 E (though

By rigorously straining their Strength to the utmost,  
 with little Relaxation, hard Fare, and hard Usage,  
 to wear them out before they become useless and unable  
 to do Service, and then to buy new ones to fill up their  
 Places.

The Calculation was determined in Favour of the lat-  
 ter System, and on many Estates where it was put in  
 Execution, the Slave was generally brought to his miser-  
 able End within nine Years. Ex Pede Herculem.  
 Vid. Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade by Rev.  
 J. NEWTON. P. 38.



(though it is a harsh Word to pronounce) the Charge of both, the more fully it is substantiated, is but a greater Aggravation of the Planters' Corruption and Cruelty—Examples on private Estates have been brought of an increasing Population, and the Case of Doctor MAPP fully proves, as the Author himself is forced to acknowledge, what *great Things may be effected in the Way of Generation*—To plead therefore *embarrassed Circumstances*, or an *incumbered Estate*, against the mild and salutary Effects of Prudence and Economy, is in most Cases to support Extravagance at the Expence of Humanity, and to countenance Folly and Vice by the Practice of Iniquity and Oppression—With a Climate far superior to their own, and the Instincts of Nature unsubdued, What is there to exclude the Hopes of a perpetual Abolition of this barbarous Traffic, but the Check that our Crimes or our Avarice throws upon the natural Fruitfulness of our Species—The *Barrenness of the Female Slaves*, if arising from excessive Labour; Or premature Births brought on by an Exposure to the Weather in a State of Pregnancy, requires but little Attention, and a small Degree of Compassion to remedy, or prevent

prevent—And to rear the Infant into Manhood, supposing the Trade no longer to exist, would then become an Object of Interest, as well of Inclination—The *indiscriminate Commerce* of the two Sexes might also in some Measure be restrained, by Encouragements to Matrimony, and Laws and Penalties annexed to the Breach of its Duties—In short if we exclude from the Question the *present Situation* of the Planters, there is not an Argument to prove the Expediency of the Trade, that does not prove the Hardness of our Hearts, nor a Plea in its Defence, that ought to be heard in a subsequent Period.

I SHALL forbear any farther Discussion of the Arguments against the Abolition, as immediately respecting the Colonies, because those which increase the Severities of the surviving Negroes, and *superadd the Labour of the Dead to the Task of the Living* \* can be supported

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only

\* That a progressive Generation may in a few Years under salutary Regulations, abolish the farther Importation of Slaves, appears from the Authors own Account of the Islands of Jamaica, St. Vincent, Dominique, Tobago, Grenada, and the Grenadines—Page 18—And the good Effects of the West India Climate on the

only on the Supposition of an immediate and decisive Act of the Legislature against any future Importation—And those which relate to the Lands ceded by the French in 1763, and disposed of to Planters by Auction under the direct Sanction of Parliament, meet the Opinion I have uniformly adhered to, that we cannot be generous without being unjust, nor liberate the Slave, without endangering the Lives and Possessions of our Subjects—But we may, and ought to direct by Authority, the private Conduct of Individuals, so as to render them Instruments of public Good, and whilst we extend our Protection to the Citizen, suffer him not to disgrace that Protection, by a Contempt of those Duties, which more immediately belong to him as a Man.

As to the *beneficial Consequences of the African Trade*\* consider'd only as a productive Source of

the Constitution of the Negroes, is confirmed also by the Observations of a very ingenious and attentive Enquirer into their Nature and Temper—"The Reverse of what is supposed to happen to the European, attends the African Race—Every Generation here, is an Improvement on the former."—A Treatise on Tropical Diseases and on the Climate of the West Indies, by B. MOSELY, M. D.



of Employment to our Manufacturers, or as a Nursery to our Seamen, they press too hard upon the Feelings of Mankind, to be supported on the bare Motive of Interest, or Policy—Channels of *honest* Industry will never be wanting to the growing Capital of this Country, and as far as that is employed, will it tend to provide for the public Exigencies of the State—But exclusive of the Horror and Inhumanity of this Branch of Traffic,\* the annual Loss of so many Seamen engaged in it, and the hardened Insensibility acquir'd by all, cannot be compensated in Point of national Utility, by the most exaggerated Produce of her Customs and Duties.

THE † Commercial System of Nations is undoubtedly, as the Author justly remarks, a Competition for Trade, in Order to obtain Wealth and maritime Influence—How far the envious

\* Vid. the candid and above-mentioned Essay of the Rev. J. NEWTON, Pages 9, 10, et seq.

Vid. also the horrid Narrative of Mr. FALCONBRIDGE, Page 37—to the End—After perusing these well-attested Publications, the Reader will hardly listen I believe to any Arguments adduced in Favour of the African Trade, *as a lucrative Branch of Commerce.*

† Page 23.

envious Jealousies arising from Commerce have destroyed the Equity, and lessened the Profits of it would be here wholly foreign to the Question—We are to remove only the *Apprehensions of a decided Superiority* on the Part of France, by our withdrawing our Competition, and abandoning the Slave Trade—The Argument here again rests upon the Effects of an *immediate*; instead of a *progressive* Abolition, and upon a Supposition that France and the other European Powers will not concur in any general Plan, for the Relief of this degraded, and injured Part of Mankind—I cannot but think (and as far as the Evidence of Conversation may be admitted, with Regard to France, I speak from Experience) that whatever Regulations we may propose, or whatever Means we may suggest, as far as an Equality of Concurrence is maintained, the other Nations will readily adopt—But provided they should be inclined to take Advantage of *our Folly*, what Superiority have we to dread, that Prudence and Humanity may not defy? And granting us to indulge the Hopes of seeing an Island of free Negroes, the Comparison of it with one of submissive and oppressed Slaves, would both in the Difference

ference of its Culture, and the Strength of its Defence, prove the Measure to be as politic as it is humane.

IT is a pleasing Task to pursue the Author through the subsequent Course of his Remarks; and the humane Regulations he proposes, the Hopes he entertains that Time may bring about the Cessation of the Import from Africa, proves that though we are not so sanguine, we are at least equally sincere in our Expectations—It proves that the Work of Reformation may probably be accomplished, *and that as it is in our Power to afford Assistance, we are in Duty bound to do it.\**

WHERE I have opposed the Principle or Tendency of his Opinions, as operating against this humane Conclusion, I hope I have done it with that Moderation which I am sure his Candour deserves, and only with that Warmth of Zeal which I feel the Subject excites—In attempting to subjoin any Regulations, I am sensible how incompetent I am to the Task, yet if they tend in the smallest Degree to advance the Claims of the Helpless and Abandoned,

Dr. PRIESTLEY's Sermon on the Subject.



Abandoned, I cannot think them wholly useless—My Wish is to associate the private Sentiments of the Heart with the Calls of public Utility, to adopt the Duties we are bound to perform, with the Circumstances we are forced to obey, and to inculcate that Spirit of Equality, which Pride and Prejudice have hitherto held in Contempt.

REGU.

## REGULATIONS.

**E**VERY Captain clearing out for the Coast of Africa, to have the Number of Slaves he shall be allowed to carry, regulated according to the Size and Tonnage of his Vessel.

EVERY Captain prohibited under the severest Penalties, from transporting or selling Slaves to any other but the British Colonies.

\* No Slave to be bought above a certain Age—The Consent of the Slave to be necessary

\* It will here probably be asked how the Age of a Slave is to be determined, or how the Consent of the Slave is to be known—The Mistake in the first Instance cannot if designed extend so far, but that it will afford a Protection to those who in an advanced Period of Life can never hope to survive the Fatigue of a few Years—And on Parts of the Windward Coast (I believe I speak from good Information) many Slaves are desirous of exchanging the Fetters of the black Merchants for those of the Captain—Perhaps a freed Negro, acting as Super-Cargo, might in a few Years be usefully employed in explaining to them the Nature and Terms of their Captivity, and so render the Servitude wholly voluntary.

fary—At the End of seven Years the Slave to be entitled to Freedom, in Case of Children at the Age of 24.

EVERY Cargo to consist of at least an equal Number of Females, and a Tax to be laid on the Importation of all male Slaves above the Age of 10 Years.

No Sale to be allowed of by *Scramble*, but the Merchant to whom the Cargo belongs, or is consigned, to dispose of them peaceably to the different Purchasers. No Separation to take Place between Parents and their Children.

EVERY Slave that is bought to be entered in a public Register, with the Name of the Purchaser, the Time when, and from whom purchased—And a private Register to be kept on every Plantation, or by the Clergyman of the Parish, of all Burials, Marriages, and Christenings.

A Slave clandestinely smuggled into a Plantation from any other Market, to be forfeited to the Governing Power of the Island.

No



No Slave to work beyond a fixed Hour in the Evening, unless paid for extraordinary Labour, or as a Punishment for Misdemeanors.

ALL Plantation Labour on Sundays to be absolutely forbidden.

A Slave guilty of Acts of petty Larceny not to be judged, or punished by the Decision of his own Master, but by some neighbouring Justice, or Court invested with proper Powers—The Matter of Fact to be decided by a Jury of his Fellow Slaves, the Sentence of Punishment to follow, and as far as the Nature of it will admit, to be publicly inflicted by his Comrades.

\* DIFFERENT Badges to distinguish different Crimes to be worn, till subsequent good Behaviour may remove them.

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FREED

\* I mention this from having been Witness to the good Effect of this Mode of Punishment among the Slaves in the French Ports—The Disgrace of a red, yellow, or green Cap, is more grievously felt than the Chains themselves, as it is a Mark of Inferiority and Degradation in the Eyes of their Associates.

**FREED Slaves to work by the Price or Job**  
—No Proprietor of Land to hire a free Slave without the Consent of the Planter who emancipated him—The Price of Labour to be fixed, and no Temptation to be held out by Increase of Wages.

**PREGNANT Women to do no Field Work**  
during the last two Months of their Pregnancy.

**WOMEN** who have produced three Children in Wedlock to be amancipated.

**ADULTERY**, where the Slave is free, to be punished with Loss of Freedom for a certain Term, or in Case both Parties are in a State of Slavery, with some other heavy Penalty.

**EMANCIPATED Slaves** guilty of any flagrant Misdemeanor, to have their Freedom suspended.

**THE Governor's Salary** to be independant of a Vote of the Assembly.

**THE Governor's Council** and the Legislative Council to be distinct in their Constitution, as well as in their Offices.

I FORBEAR to mention the Conversion of Slaves to Christianity, or the Duties requisite in the Minister to forward so laudable an Intention, because in the present Situation of Master and Slave I am persuaded every Effort would be ineffectual, and because if a necessary Foundation was first laid by a Communication of social Privileges, a Zeal and Earnestness in the respective Pastors, would not, I presume, be wanting to forward so noble an Undertaking; *How little* we may *now* expect from religious Improvement has been fully exemplified by the ill Success of many Attempts; and *how much* may be done *hereafter* by the previous Admission of Reason, Liberty and Law, though it cannot be ascertained by Experience, yet if we consider the Pattern from whence we are to form our Instruction, there is sufficient to justify the most confident Expectations——“ I am willing to “ flatter myself,” says the Author of a late ingenious and no less celebrated Publication, “ that the moral and intellectual Scene about “ us begins to brighten—I indulge myself in “ Moments of the most enthusiastic and de- “ lightful Vision; taking Encouragement from “ that glorious Prophecy, *that of the Increase* “ of



“ of his Government there shall be no End—A  
 “ Prediction which seems to be gradually ac-  
 “ complishing ; and in no Instance more per-  
 “ haps, than in the noble Attempt about to  
 “ be made for the Abolition of the African  
 “ Slave Trade—For what Event can human  
 “ Wisdom foresee more likely to contribute  
 “ to give the Son the Heathen for his Inheritance,  
 “ and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for his  
 “ Possession—than the Success of such an En-  
 “ terprize, which will restore the Lustre of  
 “ the Christian Name, too long sullied with  
 “ Oppression, Cruelty and Injustice.”——  
*Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, P. 112.*

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THE Success of the Moravian Missionaries in Green-  
 land, and the Conversion of the Slaves among the  
 Quakers is a sufficient Proof of our Indifference to the  
 Cause of Religion, or a Disregard of the Precepts it in-  
 culcates—And in the Encouragement given to our Mis-  
 sionaries for promoting Christian Knowledge in foreign  
 Parts it is painful to reflect, that they can seldom insist  
 upon the Worth of its Institutions, from the Practice or  
 Example of their surrounding Countrymen who profess  
 to make them the Rule of their Faith and Conduct.

IN the View which I have taken of this Question, Sir, it is more than probable that I shall be censured for having extended it beyond the Bounds of Reality ; that my Imagination has hurried me into Persuasions, that the general Situation of the Negroes will not justify, and into proposed Remedies, which under the present Circumstances of the Trade, can never take Effect—Many of the Regulations suggested, though some of them are founded on the Authority and Experience of West India Planters, will be deemed perhaps ineffectual or impracticable, and all of them injudicious—They are however defensible on the Plea of good Intention, and though the Interest of Merchants has long since given a Bias to our Reasonings, it never can give a new Tone to our Feelings—Was the Question to be decided by the Heart, I trust no Man could appeal to this internal Monitor and with Sincerity oppose it—The natural Connection of moral Things is unchangeable, and and it is only when it is involved in the Affairs of Government, that the separate Enquiries are confounded—It is then we accommodate our Principles to our Practice ; it is then the Cases of Equity are blended with national

national Welfare and Security ; and the same Sentiment which directs us to the Love of our Country, narrows and contracts within its own selfish Circle the Duties and Affections we owe to the Rest of Mankind—In Proportion also as Riches have become the Means of national Importance, they have become the principal Object of national Encouragement, and the commercial Establishments of the Kingdom have through their relative Connections and Dependencies, rendered themselves at once so useful, and so formidable to Government, that its Interposition can seldom with Safety be applied, beyond the Protection it affords—We have seen a Minister in the Fullness of Power, sacrificed, we are told, to the Apprehensions of *one* Body of Merchants ; and a second (it is industriously whispered) may pay the Forfeit of his Rashness, by too hasty an Interference in the Concerns of *another*—And when to this vigilant Jealousy, is superadded the Indifference of those, who from an habitual Indulgence in Ease and Luxury look no farther than the momentary Gratification, and are insensible to Wrongs, of which they are not the immediate Victims, we cannot expect the Opinion to be shaken  
by



by Force of Argument, or the Judgement to be altered by Evidence of Facts—A Tender-ness to those who depend upon us, a Sympathy for the Sorrows the Iniquity of our Traffic occasions, is either a Treachery to the Merchant who has embarked his Capital, or a Treason to the State which has confirmed his Privileges—I shall not, I trust, be accused of any Disrespect to a Set of Men, who through a Course of progressive Industry have done Honour to their Country, and to human Nature; Habits of Intimacy with many of this Description, might tempt me to be partial, but would never suffer me to be unjust—Nor do I believe there exist more strenuous Assertors of the Rights of Humanity, than are to be found among some of those, who from the Habits of Trade, and an Inattention to Consequences, have in some Degree been accessary to the Infringement of them—“ And “ whilst from an Opinion (as an animated Writer observes) “ that the Virtues of Men “ are secure, some who turn their Attention “ to Business, think of Nothing but the Num- “ bers and Wealth of a People, and others “ from a Dread of Corruption think of No- “ thing but how to preserve the national Vir-

"tues, Human Society has great Obliga-  
 "tions to both—They are opposed to one  
 "another only by Mistake, and the Misfor-  
 "tune is, that even when united, they have  
 "not always Strength sufficient to combat the  
 "wretched Party, that refers every Object to  
 "personal Interest, and that cares not for the  
 "Safety or Increase of any Stock but his  
 "own."\*

It happens also in the Discussion of great  
 and important Subjects, that we are too  
 apt to embrace the Whole, without enter-  
 ing into a Detail of its component Parts;  
 In a lucrative Branch of Commerce we look  
 only to the Receipts of the Customs, and  
 measure the Dimensions of our foreign  
 Territories, by the Scale of Imports and  
 Exportation. — If we turn a Thought to-  
 wards the dreadful Consequences of these  
 Possessions, we stifle it under the Impossi-  
 bility of a Reform, and because we are  
 †unable, or unwilling to trace the Evil,  
 to

\* FERGUSON on Civil Society.

† Mr. DUNDAS in an Investigation of Indian Trans-  
 actions, in which he was principally concerned, found  
 the

to the Individuals who have been the Causes of it. — We have long sighed over the Cruelties and Rapacity exercised in our Eastern Possessions, but it required a Firmness of Mind, and Perseverance beyond Example, a Display of Abilities that almost exceeds Belief, to substantiate the Charge of Treachery and Inhumanity, and to guide the Passions and Prejudices of Party, to a Sense of public Justice. — In correcting the Abuses of Power in our West India Plantations, I am sensible likewise of the Difficulties you will have to encounter; the smallest Incroachment on personal Dominion will be deemed a Sequestration of Property, and any Endeavour to bind the Hand of Tyranny and Oppression, will be loosening the Band of all Order and Subjection. — You will be charged with pursuing a Conduct in the West Indies, that you so strongly reprobated in the East; an Objection big with Danger will be urged

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against

the Difficulty, I presume, of bringing Home any specific Charge, though the presumptive Evidence was so strong (as he repeatedly declared in the House of Commons) as to leave no Doubt in his Breast of the Guilt of the Accused.



against every Regulation and Amendment, and such a Variety of Interests must be adjusted, such a Number of Complaints attended to in framing every Statute, that it will require an Earnestness and a Zeal in the Cause of Humanity, not to weep over the Ruins which you dare not attempt to restore.—Particular Cases of Wretchedness among our own Poor, will be adduced to alleviate the Odium with which we stigmatize the Barbarities inflicted on our African Brethren, we shall be told that we pretend to feel for Miseries we do not see, and shut our Eyes and Ears against the Distress and Want that besiege our very Doors.—The Code of Laws respecting the Slaves, will be examined on the Principles of those, established to support the Discipline of our Army and Navy—and a Negro under the Lash of an unfeeling Overseer for Drunkenness will be opposed to a poor Soldier sentenced to the Halberts for the same Offence by the Members of a Court Martial, just awakened perhaps from the Stupour of Midnight Ebriety.—It would trespass both on your Time and insult your Understanding to answer such Arguments, Comparison

parison at best can be no Justification, nor would a Man convicted of Murder, be less guilty, because he could accuse another of Robbery.—Limitations and Restrictions, Sir, have been found necessary to correct the Rapacity and Avarice of the Eastern Despot, and some salutary Regulations we hope may be adopted, to counteract the Tyranny and Barbarity that is crept into the Commercial System of our West India Islands—Dignified as you are by your Station, and bound by the political Duties of it, you have still some prior Obligations, which your Heart must refuse to violate—To reconcile these with Policy, to advance gradually towards the Paths of Justice we have abandoned, and to rise by successive Improvements to the Height of national Virtue, will be a Triumph far superior to any you have yet experienced—Those you have defeated will disdain a Party Opposition against the Rights of human Nature, they have given the noblest Assurances of Support in such a Cause, and forgetting the Minister, will unite with Mr. PITT to render the Name of an Englishman as dear as it is formidable to the Indian and to the Negro.

Negro.—With earnest Wishes for the  
Completion of this Event,

I have the Honour to subscribe myself,

With all due Respect,

Your obedient humble Servant,



THE AUTHOR.



the